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THE MEN

Village life is not understandable unless the organization of male and female social activity is separately treated. The Mundurucú exhibit the most complete development of the male-female dichotomy and accompanying men's house complex in South America. The Kamayurá men's house serves as a center for ritual,[1] and that of the Bororo is additionally a bachelor's sleeping quarter.[2] Among the Mundurucú, however, all the post-pubescent males, married and single, sleep and relax in its confines, and it is additionally the center of the cult of the sacred musical instruments.

This unusually complete division presents points of difference with the account of Martius, for the explorer stated the Mundurucú men's house eksá to be the residence of village bachelors and young men undergoing bride service.[3] Farabee, in 1915, also reported that the men's house was a bachelors' dormitory,[4] but this is denied by old informants who were young men at the time of his visit. Farabee's information is the most unreliable extant source on Mundurucú culture and I assume that he is in error on this point, also. This is borne out by Tocantins who noted in 1875 that "only prime men live in the eksá, the warriors and their sons above the age of eight years."[5] Tocantins continued: "Around the eksá are the houses of the women, where also live the children of both sexes, the old decrepit men and the sick."[6] It is possible that Martius's report, like Farabee's, is an inaccuracy expectable in such a source,

[1] Oberg, 1953, p. 54.
[2] Colbacchini and Albisetti, 1942, p. 35.
[3] Martius, 1867, p. 113.
[4] Farabee, 1917, p. 130.
[5] Tocantins, 1877, p. 102.
[6] *Ibid.*, p. 103.

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leaf walls and a baffle doorway guarantee the privacy of the instruments. The Mundurucú believe that the karökö spirits protect the village and give it supernatural aid, but proper relations must be observed toward these supernaturals if their benevolence is to be maintained and their anger avoided. The trumpets and their spirits are pleased by being periodically played. This is now done about every other evening, but the older men claim that the ritual was formerly performed daily. The karökö consists of a set of three hollow cylinders with reeds set in the mouths; their sizes are slightly graded and the note produced by each is of a slightly different pitch, although all produce a low, vibrant sound. When they are played by the usual three-man group, the music sounds like a dirge.

In addition to playing the instruments, the men must "feed" them almost daily. This is done during the evening meal. The trumpets are laid on the floor, and one of the men holds a bowl of food momentarily before the end of each, saying: "Here, old people. Eat. And make me lucky in the hunt." The food is then brought outside and poured back into the community bowl and eaten.

It has been said that the functional connection between clan and trumpet has become extremely attentuated, and each karökö is now, in effect, part of a village cult. The karökö has a further function, however, in rationalizing and maintaining the social roles considered proper to either sex. Long ago, say the Mundurucú, there were no sacred musical instruments. Three women went to the forest one day and heard music issuing from a lagoon. They returned with nets and caught three fish, each of which turned into a trumpet. The women kept their discovery secret, but one day the men learned that they had musical instruments which they played in the forest, and demanded that they bring them to the village. The women

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turally compatible with matrilocality, and their absence may well have caused the Mundurucú to adapt to increased manioc production in some other way. And so far as they were necessary preconditions for matrilocality in a patrilineal society, we may also say that they were causes.

The determining role of the social structure on social change is clearly seen in the kind of matrilocality practiced and in the resultant social units. The Mundurucú certainly do not have the usual type of matrilocality. Indeed, a possible source of social friction is resolved by allowing the men to live in their own dwelling, apart from the extended families of related females.[3] Mundurucú "patrilineality" no longer refers to the type of descent groups characteristic of the old society or to the kind of unit to which the taxonomic category is generally applied. The society lost its patrilineages, except for those of the chiefs; and descent groupings, in general, were shorn of most of their solidary features. Clanship no longer implied coöperating, interacting groups of people, although it has remained important for some time in the ordering of kinship-ascribed role behavior.

The impact of the change was felt throughout the social structure. The cult of the spirits of the clan ancestors became a village-centered ritual, and villagers, not clansmen, were seen to have reciprocal relations with these supernaturals. The primary remaining function of the whole sacred-trumpet complex has become the maintenance of male ascendancy in villages whose hereditary inhabitants are women. The protection and benevolence of the trum-

[3] It has been suggested that I use the term *duolocality* to describe Mundurucú residence. Although more exactly descriptive, I have chosen not to use this term because it may obscure the basic fact that this society maintains the integrity of a core of related females.

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pet spirits are still sought, but there is common confusion about the exact meaning and role of the supernaturals.

The change in residence patterns must have had a great effect on the whole system of behavior expected between various categories of kinsmen. Lack of data makes it impossible to reconstruct the social system under patrilocality in any detail, but since the transformation surrounded each role player with a totally different array of complementary roles, one may infer that modifications occurred in nearly all aspects of social relations. It is known, however, that cross-cousin and sister's-daughter marriages were formerly preferred, although matrilocality has resulted in the absolute taboo of the latter union. The Mundurucú still express a verbal preference for the cross-cousin marriage, but the infrequency of its occurrence suggests that loss of lineages has robbed it of its primary function as a means of solidifying ties between kin groups.

One of the most interesting features of Mundurucú matrilocality is the inability of the resultant social system to accommodate the open expression of conflict. The previous situation in this regard is not known, but if anthropological findings among other patrilineal and patrilocal peoples can be extended to the Mundurucú, one might expect that conflict need not be disruptive and might actually contribute to the maintenance of the social system. Cross-cutting bonds based on residence and descent, the non-equivalence of kin and local groups, however, prevent the development of open factions, because factional conflict would entangle the individual in conflicting loyalties. Segments of the society are not able to gain internal solidarity and to define their boundaries through opposition to other segments, except by the destruction of other modes of group organization. This lack of what has been called internal "structural opposition" is partly responsible for the